

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

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FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4295

INFO USDEL JEC PARIS

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

AMCONSUL BIEN HOA

AMCONSUL CAN THO

AMCONSUL NHA TRANG

UNCLAS SAIGON 3711

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, VS

SUBJECT: FORMER RVN FOREIGN MINISTER TRAN VAN DO CRITICIZES US  
FOREIGN POLICY

DEPT PASS TO IBS/NCA

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

1. FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT OF CHINH LUAN (CONSTRUCTIVE OPPOSITION)  
EDITORIAL OF MARCH 28 WHICH WAS WRITTEN BY FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER,  
DR. TRAN VAN DO, AND ENTITLED "WHO CAN BELIEVE US PROMISES?".

2. BEGIN TEXT: THE NEWSPAPERS IN RECENT DAYS HAVE HAD MANY PICTURES  
OF CROWDS OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF HEART-BROKEN PEOPLE FOLLOWING  
EACH OTHER IN THE MASS EXODUS. THEY ARE THE VICTIMS OF A CRUEL WAR.  
THEY ARE VICTIMS BECAUSE THEY ARE VERY SIMPLE PEOPLE WHO PLACED THEIR  
COMPLETE CONFIDENCE IN THE SOLEMN PROMISE OF A RICH COUNTRY AND IN  
THE RESPECT THE MOST POWERFUL NATION IN THE WORLD ACCORDS TO ITS  
SIGNATURE ON AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT. --THAT COUNTRY IS THE  
U.S.; THAT PROMISE IS THE PROMISE MADE BY FIVE AMERICAN PRESIDENTS  
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TO HELP SVN PROTECT ITS FREEDOM AND TERRITORY. --THAT AGREEMENT

IS THE PARIS CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT, WHICH BEGINNING IN 1969, MR. HENRY KISSINGER SECRETLY NEGOTIATED WITH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE.

3. MR. H. KISSINGER IS A DISTINGUISHED STATESMAN WITH THE BACKING OF THE MOST POWERFUL NATION IN THE WORLD; THE ADVERSARY IS NORTH VIETNAM, A TINY COUNTRY. THE RESULTS, AFTER THREE YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS, WAS A CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT STIPULATING THAT U.S. TROOPS WITHDRAW AND NORTH VIETNAMESE TROOPS REMAIN. BECAUSE OF THAT DISADVANTAGE SOUTH VIETNAM HAD TO BE FORCED TO ACCEPT AND SIGN THE AGREEMENT.

4. IF WE REFUSED, AS AN AMERICAN SENATOR HAS SAID, THE RVN WOULD "DESTROY ITSELF" BECAUSE THE U.S. WOULD CUT OFF AID.

5. IF WE SIGNED, ACCORDING TO ANOTHER SENATOR, THE U.S. WOULD CONTINUE TO ASSIST VN TO REBUILD, AND IN THE EVENT OF ATTACK WOULD ALSO PROVIDE MILITARY AID.

6. IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO BE A DISTINGUISHED STATESMAN OR MILITARY SPECIALIST TO KNOW IN ADVANCE THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE WOULD ATTACK AGAIN IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. IN TRUTH, THERE HAS NOT BEEN A CEASEFIRE FOR EVEN A MOMENT THROUGHOUT THE LAST TWO YEARS THERE HAVE BEEN AN AVERAGE OF 100 VIOLATIONS OF THE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT EVERY DAY. NORTH VIETNAM CONTINUED INFILTRATING MEN, WEAPONS, AMMUNITION AND TANKS, ETC. --GRADUALLY CHANGING FROM GUERRILLA ATTACKS TO A CONVENTIONAL WAR WITH MODERN WEAPONS, ARTILLERY AND TANKS SUPPLIED TO THEM BY THE SOVIET UNION AND COMMUNIST CHINA. MEANWHILE THE U.S. CONGRESS PROVIDED AID SPARINGLY TO THE RVN, OSTENSIBLY TO RELIEVE THE PANGS OF ITS CONSCIENCE.

7. AN AMERICAN SENATOR SAID THAT ONLY HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE PROVIDED -- MEANING MEDICINE, FOOD, CLOTHES, ETC --FOR THE ORPHANS AND REFUGEES. HAS THE SENATOR THOUGHT ABOUT THE PEOPLE BEING KILLED BY INDISCRIMINATE SHELLING OR DYING BY EXHAUSTION ALONG THE EVACUATION ROUTES? WHY NOT THINK ABOUT A WAY TO BLOCK OR PUNISH THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ATTACKERS OR APPEAL TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND OPINION TO CONDEMN THE BLATANT VIOLATIONS OF AN AGREEMENT THAT

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THEY SIGNED.

8. ONE AUTHORITY SAID THAT IF THE RVN AND CAMBODIA ARE LOST IT WOULD NOT BE DAMAGING TO THE U.S. BECAUSE US INTERESTS IN THESE TWO COUNTRIES ARE NOT WORTHY OF MENTION. HOWEVER, IF THESE TWO NATIONS ARE SUBJUGATED AFTER FIVE AMERICAN PRESIDENTS SOLEMNLY PROMISED TO PROTECT THEIR FREEDOM AND TERRITORY (AS I SAID IN THE FIRST PARAGRAPH), THEN WHAT WILL PEOPLE THINK? (THEY WILL THINK)

THE U.S. TJADED THESE TWO COUNTRIES WITH THE RUSSIAN AND CHINESE SUPERPOWERS IN ORDER TO CARRY OUT A POLICY OF DETENTE. SPHERES OF INFLUENCE ON THE INDOCHINESE PENINSULA WILL BE DIVIDED AMONG THE THREE SUPPERPOWERS. IF THIS THEORY IS CORRECT, THEN THIS ATTACK WILL STOP AT SOME POINT. THAT WILL BE FORTUNATE FOR THE RVN BECAUSE ALTHOUGH DIVIDED AND DIMINISHED THERE WILL STILL BE AN AREA IN WHICH TO LIVE FOR THE PEOPLE WHO LOVE FREEDOM.

9. IF THE US, FOR WHATEVER REASON, ABANDONS OR REDUCES ITS AID TO THE LEVEL WHERE THE RED TIDE INUNDATES THE RVN THEN THE DAMAGING EFFECTS ARE LIMITLESS:

10. FIRST, 20 MILLION VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WILL HAVE TO LIVE UNDER A REGIME THAT THEY MORTALLY FEAR. THE PROOF OF THIS IS THAT 20 YEARS AGO MORE THAN A MILLION PEOPLE ABANDONED THEIR ANCESTOR'S TOMBS, THTHEIR NATIVE LAND, AND ALL OF THEIR BELONGINGS TO EVACUATE TO THE SOUTH IN ORDER TO LIVE IN FREEDOM, AND AT THE PRESENT TIME, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ARE CARRYING EACH OTHER AS THEY FLEE FROM THE COMMUNIST TROOPS. THEY ABANDONED BAN ME THUOT, PEIKU, KONTUM, AND HUE, ETC. -- IN ORDER TO FIND FREEDOM.

11. REMEMBER THAT 20 YEARS AGO IN 1954 FRANCE WAS DEFEATED AT DIEN BIEN PHU AND HAD TO SIGN THE GENEVA CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT AND DIVIDE VIETNAM IN TWO. THOUGH THE FRENCH WERE DEFEATED AND WITHOUT THE MEANS AVAILABLE TO THE AMERICANS, THE GENEVA AGREEMENT HAD CONDITIONS THAT RELATIVELY SPEAKING WERE NOT AS DAMAGING AS THE PARIS AGREEMENT OF JANUARY 27, 1973. AFTER THE DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY THERE WAS A REGROUPING OF THE VIET MINH AND THEY HAD TO WITHDRAW TO THE NORTH AND THE PEOPLE OF BOTH AREAS WERE GIVEN THE TIME TO CHOOSE THE AREA IN WHICH THEY WNATED TO LIVE. IT WAS NOT A CEASEFIRE IN PLACE WHERE THE ALLIED FORCES WHITHDREW AND THE ENEMY REMINED.

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12. WITH THE SUPERB DIPLOMACY OF THE NUMBER ON SUPERPOWER IN THE WOULD, WHY WAS IT NECESSARY TO NEGOTIATE FOR THREE YEARS IN ORDER TO SURRENDER? SPEAKING BLUNTLY, IT IS A SURRENDER AND CANNOT BE VIEWED AS A CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT IN WHICH NEITHER SIDE WINS NOR LOSES AND PEACE IS ACHIEVED WITH HONOR. HOW CAN IT BE CALLED HONOR WHEN DURIGN THE FIGHTING, TROOPS ARE WITHDRAWN WHILE THE ENEMY REMAINS FOR THE RVN TO DEAL WITH UNILATERALLY.

13. FROM 1965 TO 1972, THE US HAD OVER A HALF MILLION TROOPS IN VIETNAM WITH AIRCRAFT, WARSHIPS AND ALL MANNER OF MODERN WEAPONRY AND COULDN'T WIN AND ALSO COUNLDN'T DRIVE BACK THE INVADING ARMY. NOW AFTER LEAVING THE ENEMY IN PLACE AND SO REDUCING MILITARY AID, THE RVN FEELS THAT IT HAS BEEN ABANDONED. AND MORE PAINFUL YET IS THE FACT THAT WE PLACED OUR HOPE AND CONFIDENCE IN OUR BIG BROTHER AND HE BETRAYED US.

4. HOW ILL THAT SORT OF TREATMENT OF THE RVN BY THE US BE VIEWED BY AMERICA'S ALLIES, NATO, SEATO, ANZUS, JAPAN, AND ISRAEL. IT WILL NOT BE NECESSARY TO KNOW THE REASONS WHY THE US BROKE ITS PROMISE TO THE RVN. SUCH AN ACT WILL MEAN THAT NO ONE PLACES ITS CONFIDENCE IN THE US AGAIN.

15 TAKE THE MIDDLE EAST AS AN EXAMPLE. TREATING THE RVN AS DESCRIBED ABOVE WILL MADE THE EFFORTS OF MR. H. KSSINGER TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN THAT AREA DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE. ISRAEL CANNOT MADE CONCESSIONS THAT THE US RECOMMENDS (JUST AS THE US RECOMMENDED THAT RVN MAKE CONCESSIONS IN ORDER TO SIGN THE PARIS AGREEMENT OF 1973) BECAUSE SHE DOESN'T BELIEVE IN AMERICAN GUARANTEES. WORSE YET, THE ADVERSARIES DON'T RESPECT (THE US).

16. THE INTERNAL CRISIS IN AMERICA HAS WEAKENED THE GOVERNMENT. THERE IS NO CONTINUITY OR CONSENSUS IN THE ADMINISTRATION AND IT HAS LOST THE CAPABILITY (ECONOMIC AND MILITARY) TO PLAY A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE FREE WORLD. NATIONS THAT WERE THE FORMER FRIENDS OF THE US MUST FIND OTHER WAYS TO PROTECT THEIR INTERESTS ON THEIR OWN. THE BLOC OF FREE NATIONS IS BREAKING UP AND THE LEAVERS OF POWER BETWEEN THE TWO BLOCS WILL TILT TOWARD THE COMMUNIST BLOC AND WOULD PEACE WILL BE THREATENDED. (END TEXT)  
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